Calendar No. 267

98TH CONGRESS
1st Session

SENATE

REPORT
No. 98-167

ESTABLISHING REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

UNITED STATES SENATE

(TOGETHER WITH MINORITY VIEWS)

TO ACCOMPANY

S. RES. 66

TO ESTABLISH REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE

JUNE 28 (legislative day, JUNE 27), 1983.—Ordered to be printed

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

11-010 O

WASHINGTON : 1983

S683-6

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CONTENTS

	Page
Purpose	1
Background	2
Committee Action	3
Committee Findings	3
Policy Issues	3
Effect on Senate Rules	3
Extent of Coverage	4
Kind of Coverage	4
Live Broadcasts	4
Tapes for Immediate Use	4
Tapes for Archival Purposes	5
Administrative Issues	5
Procurement	5
Installation	6
Operation	6
Test Period	6
Congressional Budget Office—Cost Estimate	7
Architect of the Capitol—Budget Estimate	8
Office of the Sergeant at Arms—Annual Operating Costs	9
GSA—National Archives—Annual Archiving Costs	9
Library of Congress—Annual Archiving Costs	10
Policy Issues—Section by Section Analysis	11
Committee Rollcall Votes	12
Minority Views of Messrs. Ford, Pell, Byrd, and Inouye	13

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JUNE 28 (legislative day, JUNE 27), 1983.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, submitted the following

REPORT

together with

MINORITY VIEWS

[To accompany S. Res. 66]

The Committee on Rules and Administration, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 66) to establish regulations to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate, having considered the same, reports thereon without amendment.

PURPOSE

Senate Resolution 66 provides for the implementation of live, gavel-to-gavel radio and television broadcast coverage of all proceedings in the Senate Chamber, except when a closed-door session is ordered, as authorized by S. Res. 20, 97th Congress, agreed to April 21, 1982. The Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, the Librarian of Congress, the Archivist ofthe United States, and the Committee on Rules and Administration are given specified duties by this resolution relating to broadcast coverage of the Senate. Regulations for the coverage are also provided, and a sum not to exceed $3,500,000 for the Architect of the Capitol to carry out the purposes of this resolution shall be expended from the contingent fund of the Senate.

BACKGROUND

The Senate has had a public gallery, open to all citizens and the print media, since 1794. In the mid-1940's Senator (now Representative) Claude Pepper introduced the first resolution providing for broadcast coverage of the proceedings of the Senate and the House, and in 1947 television cameras were permitted in the House Chamber to cover the opening of the 80th Congress.

During the following three decades, however, the Senate and the House each accepted or rejected television in various ways according to each body's own individual determinations and procedures.

In the Senate, television was permitted in the Chamber in 1974 to cover the swearing-in ceremony of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, and in 1977 radio broadcast coverage was authorized for the Panama Canal Treaty debates, which were conducted the following year. Also, the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration conducted tests between 1975 and 1979 to determines the lighting requirements for televising Senate floor proceedings and to ascertain if television would require any significant alterations to the Chamber.

In March of 1977 the Speaker of the House announced his authorization of a 90-day test of live gavel-to-gavel television coverage of floor proceedings. In October 1977 the House authorized the Speaker to install a closed-circuit television system, and in June 1978 the Speaker appointed an Advisory Committee on Broadcasting to develop a closed-circuit viewing system and to make audio and video broadcast signals available to the news media. Television signals were first made available to the broadcast media on March 19, 1979, after several weeks of trial of closed-circuit telecasts.

Several resolutions, meanwhile, had been introduced in the Senate to provide for radio and television coverage of the Senate. The first committee action was taken in 1981, on S. Res. 20, 97th Congress. The Committee on Rules and Administration held extensive hearings on the measure, including testimony from Senators, Representatives, officers of the Senate, public interest groups, and members of the press. S. Res. 20, which would have provided the start of construction for facilities to provide gavel-to-gavel coverage by both radio and television, was reported favorably without amendment on August 13, 1981.

S. Res. 20 received extensive consideration on the floor of the Senate in February and April of 1982. Because of concern that the resolution did not provide enough detail on issues of implementation, it was amended so that it would only become effective upon the approval of a resolution containing regulation and/or rules changes needed for this implementation. With this amendment, the resolution was agreed to by a vote of 95–1. The Committee on Rules and Administration was given 60 days to report the necessary regulations. This period was later extended by unanimous consent to 90 days, and again later to 98 days.

The Committee on Rules and Administration held two days of hearings on the regulations necessary to implement S. Res. 20, on May 19 and May 25, 1982. These hearings supplemented all of the previous hearings as well as the floor debate on S. Res. 20, during which most of the issues of implementation were discussed.

On July 27, 1982, the Committee on Rules and Administration reported favorably on S. Res. 436, an original resolution to imple-

ment television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate. The 97th Congress adjourned before S. Res. 436 was acted on.

S. Res. 66, a resolution substantially the same as the one which died in the 97th Congress, was introduced on February 16, 1983.

COMMITTEE ACTION

Hearings on S. Res. 66 were held on April 14 and 15.

Those who testified were:

April 14, 1983: Hon. Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tennessee), United States Senate; Hon. John C. Danforth (R-Missouri), United States Senate; Hon. Russell B. Long (D-Louisiana), United States Senate; Hon. John C. Stennis (D-Mississippi), United States Senate; Hon. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York), United States Senate; Walter Cronkite, Special Correspondent, CBS News; George F. Will, nationally syndicated columnist; Julian Goodman, former Chairman, NBC; Edward M. Allen, National Chairman, C–SPAN, and President, Western Communications; and John P. Frazee, Jr., Group Vice President, Video Services, Centel Corp.

April 15, 1983: Hon. Mack Mattingly (R-Georgia), United States Senate; and Bruce Miller, Director, News and Public Affairs, Central Virginia Television Corp., stations WNTV and WNVC, Northern Virginia.

In addition, the following submitted statements for the record: Hon. David L. Boren (D-Oklahoma), United States Senate, and David P. Ward, Vice President and General Manager, Central Virginia Educational Television Corp., station WNTV and WNVC, Northern Virginia.

COMMITTEE FINDINGS

In answer to the major questions raised by individual Senators concerning the televising of Senate floor proceedings, the Committee, in summary, offers the following answers. (Some of this material was assembled by the Committee during its initial studies and hearings on S. Res. 20 and was included in the Committee's report on that resolution, and some was compiled in response to the subsequent request of the Senate for additional information.)

POLICY ISSUES

Effect on Senate Rules

Authority for television and radio broadcasts.—The authorization for television and radio broadcasts granted with the approval of S. Res. 20 will become effective upon approval of regulations. Therefore, no change to the Senate Rules will be necessary to permit broadcasts.

Voting procedure.—Voting will be conducted as at present.

Control over the germaneness of amendments; Rules for the sequence of speakers; Lengths of individual speeches and debates; and Preservation of the rights of the Minority Leader, the Minority, and members of a minority on a given issue.—There is no reason to believe that the system now followed by the Senate, which governs each of these matters and provides elaborate safeguards for the rights of each Member, will be weakened by the advent of television. Therefore, no changes to the Senate rules will be necessary.

Extent of coverage

The coverage will be gavel-to-gavel except during "closed door" sessions.

Kind of coverage

Principles of coverage.—Coverage is intended to provide a complete, unedited record of what is said on the floor of the Senate. Coverage is intended to be an informative documentary and not a staged performance, and is to be free from editorial analysis.

During debates.—Only the person actually speaking will be covered by the cameras during debates. During colloquies, different cameras will cover the speaking Senators. Cameras will not pan the Chamber or show the reactions of Senators to what is being said.

During roll calls, recesses and votes.—During quorum calls and votes the cameras will cover the presiding officer and official clerks. Cameras will be turned off during recesses.

Identification of speakers.—The name of the Senator speaking will be superimposed on the bottom of the screen.

Still photography.—The ban on taking photographs in the Chamber (and galleries) will remain in effect.

Other issues.—The Rules Committee may decide other minor issues which may arise during the test period.

Live broadcasts

Live broadcasts.—Live broadcast feed will be provided free to the networks and qualified recipients. Requiring a user fee for, or restricting access to, the coverage of the floor of the Senate would raise First Amendment questions. For the same reason, and because other Senate Documents are not copyrighted, no copyright will be claimed on the live feed or the taped copies.

Television network.—All three of the major networks indicated that they would use clips of floor proceedings. Two of the three networks are limited by union contracts to use only three minutes per day if their employees do not operate the cameras.

Cable television.—C–SPAN has indicated it would carry the entire floor proceedings unedited and probably live. In 1979, C–SPAN was being seen in 3 million homes. By 1982 that figure had increased to 10 million homes, and C–SPAN officials estimate that by 1985 they will reach 15 million homes, with a potential audience of about 45 million people. Other cable news entities may use portions of the broadcast.

Public television.—Representatives from public television indicated that they would use clips of floor proceedings on their news and analysis programs.

Public radio.—Representatives from National Public Radio indicated that they would carry the Senate extensively during major debates, as they did during the Panama Canal Treaty debates.

Other radio.—Radio news networks would carry exerpts from the floor proceedings. No radio broadcaster has indicated a willingness to carry the Senate proceedings gavel-to-gavel.

Tapes for immediate use

Quality of tapes.—Tapes will be of broadcast quality.

Availability.—Broadcast quality copies of tapes for immediate use (within a 90-day period) will be available from the Sergeant at Arms

to Senators, Radio-Television Gallery members and those others authorized by the Rules and Administration Committee. Approved purchasers will be charged for the cost of the copy. After 90 days, copies of the archived recordings will be available to the public from the Library of Congress and the National Archives for the cost of the copy.

Retention period.—Tapes will be retained by the Senate for 90 days and then provided to the Library of Congress and the National Archives for permanent retention.

Restrictions.—The use of tapes for political or commercial purposes will be prohibited. The tapes may not be recopied or transferred. Persons acquiring tapes must sign a statement agreeing to these restrictions.

Tapes for archival purposes

Responsibility for archiving.—The Library of Congress and the National Archives will be responsible for the archiving of the tapes. Each will retain a complete set of the tapes.

Retention period.—Archived tapes will be retained permanently.

Restrictions.—The use of tapes for political or commercial purposes will be prohibited. Persons acquiring tapes must sign a statement agreeing to these restrictions.

ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

Procurement

Need for consultants.—It is anticipated that a lighting and camera consultant will be hired by the Architect of the Capitol after consultation with the Sergeant at Arms and the Rules and Administration Committee.

Equipment needed.—

1. Cameras

Six cameras will be installed during the test period. It will be determined during the test period whether this number is sufficient. It is anticipated the cameras will be directed and focused remotely, from the control room, so as to minimize the visibility of the cameras. The cameras will be placed in the galleries, not at ground level.

2. Control room equipment

Control room equipment designed on the advice of the consultant will be installed prior to the test period. It will be determined during the test period whether this equipment is sufficient and satisfactory. The operators in the control room will direct the cameras, choose which camera will be sending the signal at any given time, produce the live feed, and make the tapes of the live feed.

3. Sound equipment

According to the Architect of the Capitol, it will be necessary to replace the speech reinforcement system in the Chamber to provide broadcast quality audio.

4. Lighting

A lighting consultant has already determined that it will be necessary to increase wattage in some of the existing lighting fixtures. The

exact extent of this work will be determined during the test period. No "klieg" lights will be necessary; the lighting consultant indicated that no new light fixtures of any kind would be necessary.

Distribution.—Archived tapes will be made available to researchers, purchasers, and any other interested parties by the Library of Congress and the National Archives under conditions agreed upon by the Rules and Administration Committee.

Cost.—There will be no charge for viewing the tapes. The cost of copies will be approved by the Rules and Administration Committee.

Oversight.—The Senate Rules and Administration Committee will exercise oversight.

5. Air conditioning equipment

The Architect of the Capitol testified that the existing cooling capacity is adequate to handle the increased wattage.

Responsibility for procurement.—The Office of the Architect of the Capitol will procure all equipment to be installed. Bids will be requested and puchases will be made according to the normal procurement procedures of the Architect of the Capitol.

Oversight.—Oversight will be exercised by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which must approve all contract awards by the Architect or the Sergeant at Arms for consultants, training, or procurement having to do with the initiation of broadcast coverage of floor proceedings.

Installation

Need for consultants.—It is intended that consultants will be hired to assist in the installation of equipment.

Schedule.—It is estimated that installation of the equipment will take six to nine months. The work of the Senate will not be affected during this period.

Responsibility for installation.—The Office of the Architect of the Capitol will be responsible for the installation of the equipment.

Oversight.—Oversight will be exercised by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

Operation

Responsibility for operation.—The Sergeant at Arms will have prime responsibility for the live broadcasting by television and radio of the Senate floor proceedings.

Hiring.—Hiring will be conducted by the Office of the Senate Sergeant at Arms under normal hiring procedures. Some of the existing Recording and Photographic Studio staff will be utilized in the operation of broadcast coverage of the floor proceedings.

Training.—Training will be conducted during the test period.

Oversight.—Oversight will be exercised by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

Test period

Responsibility.—The test will be conducted by the offices of the Architect of the Capitol and the Senate Sergeant at Arms. During the

test period, feeds will be provided only to the Congressional cable system.

Length.—It is estimated that the test period will last one to three months. The work of the Senate will not be affected during this period.

Safeguards against unauthorized use.—No "outside" use of test-period feeds will be permitted.

Adjustments during the test period.—Changes in operating procedures deemed to be necessary during the test period will be made and tested before the conclusion of the period.

Oversight.—Oversight will be exercised by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

End of test period.—The test period will end only when the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate and the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Rules Committee are satisfied with its results.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE—COST ESTIMATE

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., June 21, 1983.

Hon. CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to Section 403 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, the Congressional Budget Office has prepared the attached cost estimate for S. Res. 66, a resolution to establish regulations to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate.

Should the Committee so desire, we would be pleased to provide further details on this estimate.

Sincerely,

ALICE M. RIVLIN,
Director.

JUNE 21, 1983.

1. Resolution number: S. Res. 66

2. Resolution title: A resolution to establish regulations to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate.

3. Resolution status: As ordered reported by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, June 15, 1983.

4. Resolution purpose: This resolution establishes regulations needed to implement television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate. Certain activities are required of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, and of the Architect of the Capitol, the Librarian of Congress, and the Archivist of the United States. The resolution also authorizes the expenditure of up to $3.5 million from the contingent fund of the Senate to carry out the activities required by this resolution.

5. Estimated cost to the Federal Government:

	Millions
Estimated authorization level:	
Fiscal year:	
1984	$3.6
1985	.8
1986	.9
1987	.9
1988	1.0
Estimated outlays:	
Fiscal year:	
1984	3.3
1985	1.0
1986	.9
1987	.9
1988	1.0

The costs of this resolution fall within budget function 800.

Basis of Estimate: This cost estimate is based on information provided by the offices that will be required to participate in the purchase, installation, operation, and maintenance of the system and to store and make copies of recordings available to the public.

The cost to the Architect of the Capitol for purchase and installation of equipment is estimated to be $3.5 million. It is estimated that $3.2 million will be expended by the Architect in fiscal year 1984, with the balance spent in fiscal year 1985. Additional costs for other offices will include approximately $35,000 for equipment to be purchased by the Archivist of the United States in fiscal year 1984. Staff time required during the test period is estimated to cost $100,000 in fiscal year 1984. This estimate assumes the system will begin full operation at the beginning of fiscal year 1985. The 1985 costs to operate, maintain, and repair the system, and to make tapes available to the public are estimated to be approximately $800,000. These costs have been adjusted by CBO's specialized price indices to estimate fiscal year 1986–1988 costs. It is not clear to what extent additional appropriations will be required for these purposes.

6. Estimated cost to State and local governments: None.
7. Estimate comparison: None.
8. Previous CBO estimate: None.
9. Estimate prepared by: Judith L. Walker.
10. Estimate approved by:

JAMES L. BLUM,
Assistant Director for Budget Analysis.

Architect of the Capitol—Budget estimate to provide for televising Senate floor proceedings

	6 cameras
Cameras and hardware	$1,740,000
1-inch video tape recorders (2)	180,000
Installation and assembly labor costs	350,000
System controllers (redundant) with software PDP 11/24	170,000
Rack equipment	325,000
Test equipment	60,000
Preparation of control room	195,000
Preparation of gallery	39,000
New audio system	146,000
First-year spare parts	200,000
	3,405,000
Design and contingency	100,000
Total	3,505,000
	Say 3,500,000

Note: Payroll cost for operating personnel is not included in these estimates.

Architect of the Capitol—Budget estimate to provide for radio broadcasting Senate floor proceedings

New audio system	$146,000
Miscellaneous equipment	4,000
Broadcaster's booth	50,000
Total	200,000

Note: Payroll cost for operating personnel is not included in these estimates.

OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS—ANNUAL OPERATING COSTS

JUNE 11, 1982.

MEMORANDUM

To: John Swearingen, Director, Technical Services, Committee on Rules and Administration.
From: Ralph Griffith, Director, Recording Studio.

To this point in time, John, all of us have been talking about producing a video signal (TV) and an audio signal (radio) and nothing else in opening the Senate floor to electronic media. We have been talking about producing those signals and sending them to a point outside the chambers for distribution.

Assuming that when the Senate talks about carrying the Senate proceedings on radio, the Senators mean producing a radio signal and sending it to a distribution point, then the cost would be minimal.

Also, assuming that the cost should be figured only for producing the signal and sending it to a distribution point, and nothing else, the cost would be about $7,900.

You would need nothing more than a cable, amplifiers and a multi-outlet box. People who maintain the present sound system or who will maintain the new system could maintain the radio distribution setup, so no personnel would be needed.

The cost of salaries and maintenance for televising the Senate would be about $420,000 a year.

GSA—NATIONAL ARCHIVES—ANNUAL ARCHIVING COSTS

Hon. CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I understand that the Committee on Rules and Administration plans to hold public hearings this Tuesday concerning implementation of Senate Regulation 20, providing for radio and television coverage of proceedings of the Senate. I should like to offer testimony on behalf of the General Services Administration and its National Archives program concerning preservation, storage and public availability of the audiovisual record of such coverage.

We are very pleased that the Senate is considering the proposal to provide for audio and/or video coverage of its proceedings. Adoption of this measure cannot help but enrich the public's understanding of the legislative process. Radio and television, the most direct forms of communication today, will serve as a convenient substitute for the many citizens of this country who cannot visit the Senate gallery.

The recordings made as a byproduct of this coverage constitute a valuable public record, and it is our belief that they should be deposited

in the National Archives along with the other Senate records. As you know, Rule XXX of the Standing Rules of the Senate and Section 2114 of Title 44 of the United States Code provide for transferring, at the close of each session of the Congress, all noncurrent records of the Senate and Senate Committees to the General Services Administration for preservation in the National Archives. Under those provisions the National Archives already has custody of over 15,000 cubic feet of Senate records, and the recording of the proceedings themselves are a natural complement and extension of those records.

Reference service on the recordings would be performed in the National Archives building by our Motion Picture, Sound, and Video Branch; the originals would be stored in our new annex in Alexandria, Virginia. The Branch has audio and video tape research facilities available for public use. The Branch would also be able to furnish copies for a fee or provide the Senate with loan copies should they be requested. Because of the extensive published finding aids already available to researchers, no extensive cataloging of the recordings would be required. Rather, it would only be necessary to develop a speaker's log to facilitate access.

The National Archives would be able to absorb the initial costs of undertaking this program, involving $35,000 for equipment, and would reflect the annual cost as a slight increase in its normal operating costs, amounting to $30,000 in materials and $25,000 in labor.

Given a chance to testify, I would be very happy to reiterate our views concerning the research value of the records, the reference services that the National Archives would offer, and the preservation steps and associated costs that would be necessary to ensure their existence and availability in the years to come.

I shall look forward to assisting the Committee in its deliberations in any manner that you think would be most helpful.

Sincerely,

ROBERT M. WARNER,
Archivist of the United States.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS—ANNUAL ARCHIVING COSTS

MAY 14, 1981.

Mr. JOHN K. SWEARINGEN,
Director, Technical Services, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SWEARINGEN: As you requested in your phone conversation on Friday, May 8, 1981, with Robert Carneal, I am glad to report that the following procedures have been under discussion with the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, House of Representatives.

The House records the floor proceedings onto one-inch type "C" magnetic tape, holds these tapes for 60 days, and then wipes them clean for subsequent use in the program. In order for the Library of Congress to have these taped proceedings available for archival purposes after the 60-day period, the Library proposed in its budget for fiscal year 1982 to exchange blank tapes for those containing the proceedings, or, as an alternative, the Library's Recording Laboratory can record directly from the Capitol Hill network, onto three-quarter

inch "U Matic" format tape. For either procedure, the total annual cost is approximately $78,000. We have estimated the cost for the Senate proceedings to be $93,000 based on the average number of hours they were in session in 1979 and 1980.

The Library recommended to the House of Representatives Committee that at the end of the 60-day period, the one-inch type "C" magnetic tapes be sent to the Library because this format gives the highest quality archival copy from which subsequent copies can be produced.

The House Committee on Appropriations has not yet acted on our request. Nevertheless, the Library's work will be simplified if the House and Senate adopt the same procedure.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. BRODERICK,
Assistant Librarian for Research Services.

POLICY ISSUES IN TELEVISION/RADIO RESOLUTION SECTION BY SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1

This resolution would provide for gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Senate, including those times when the Senate is meeting in committee of the whole, such as during treaty debates. Coverage will cease only during closed-door sessions. Less than gavel-to-gavel coverage would compromise the credibility which complete and unedited broadcast coverage provides and would lessen the historical value of the recordings.

The resolution would provide for no changes in the Standing Rules; broadcast coverage will be subject to the rules already in effect relating to the gallery.

Section 2

The resolution would provide for the equipment to be owned and operated by the Senate so that the Senate can more effectively supervise the broadcasts and prevent disruption of normal floor proceedings.

The continuous, live broadcast will be provided free to the networks and other qualified recipients. This should remove any First Amendment questions inherent in requiring a fee or establishing new access restrictions for coverage of the Senate.

The clause allowing non-accredited entities to receive the broadcast will allow entities such as government agencies or universities to receive the broadcast in the same manner as members of the Gallery.

Section 3

The television broadcast will focus only on the speaking Member or the presiding officer, and would not pan the chamber or show reaction shots; this will insure that only information, not editorial opinion, will be transmitted.

Section 4(b)

The Architect of the Capitol is charged with building the necessary facilities for TV and radio, since the Architect's office is the normal office for construction. The main facilities will be new lights, the control room, and the cameras and recording equipment.

The Rules Committee will approve any necessary contracts.

Section 4(c)

The Sergeant at Arms will operate and maintain the equipment, initially in conjunction with the Recording Studio. A video and audio recording will be produced. Senators, Gallery members, and those authorized by the Rules Committee may obtain copies of the tape at the cost of the copy. After 90 days, the tapes will be sent to the Library of Congress and the National Archives.

The Rules Committee will approve any necessary contracts.

Section 4(d)

The Library of Congress and the National Archives will keep the historical copies; these may be viewed and heard free and copied at the cost of the copy.

Section 5

There will be a test period to perfect operational procedures. The test transmission will not be seen otuside of the Congress. The test will end only when the Majority Leader and Minority Leader of the Senate, and the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Rules Committee are satisfied that the broadcast is ready to be seen, so that the rights of all Senators may be protected.

Section 6

Anyone requesting copies of the tapes of the broadcast must certify that the broadcasts will not be used for commercial or political purposes. This does not preclude, of course, news, information, or educational uses.

Section 7

Any changes in this resolution will require the consent of the full Senate. The Rules Committee will provide detailed operating procedures at the end of the test period and may decide minor issues such as the tally of votes.

Section 8

The Architect of the Capitol is authorized to spend up to $3,500,000 for the one-time expense of installation. The operating expenses of the Sergeant at Arms will be funded in a normal appropriation.

COMMITTEE ROLLCALL VOTE

In compliance with paragraph 7 (b) and (c) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the record of the rollcall vote in the Committee on Rules and Administration during its consideration of S. Res. 66 is as follows: On a motion proposed by Senator Baker to report the resolution: Agreed to: 6 yeas; 3 nays.

YEAS	NAYS
Mr. Mathias	Mr. Byrd
Mr. Baker	Mr. Pell
Mr. Hatfield	Mr. Helms
Mr. McClure [1]	
Mr. Warner	
Mr. DeConcini	

[1] By proxy.

MINORITY VIEWS OF MESSRS. FORD, PELL, BYRD, AND INOUYE

It has been, and remains, our conviction that the Senate should authorize for now radio only coverage of Senate proceedings.[1] Among the reasons contributing to this position are the following:

It is imprudent to spend now the several million dollars necessary to equip the Senate Chamber for television coverage. To broadcast debates by radio would involve expenditures of only a few thousand dollars, and would accomplish all of the desirable objectives afforded by broadcasting the proceedings of the Senate. Television would inject counterproductive distractions and intrusions on the important legislative business of the Senate. Radio broadcasts would not cause these distractions and would transmit to the public the information contained in Senate debate and discussion while losing only the visual "entertainment" aspects of television.

While the value of television as an entertainment medium, and as a news disseminator, is great and unquestioned, many of us have serious doubts whether it is a suitable medium to establish as a permanent part of Senate floor activity. It is one thing to report what goes on in the Senate by means of television newscasts, and quite another to film the proceedings from beginning to end at the risk of shaping the legislative results, rather than merely reflecting them.

A small public gallery does not equate in impact with live television cameras. While the public gallery can become the source of obstruction and distraction, the presence of television cameras constitutes an intrusion on the workings of the Senate of an unmeasurably greater magnitude. Before such a risky step is taken we should limit our broadcasts of floor proceedings to radio, as the British Parliament has done for the past several years. Because of our internal radio broadcast system, which we have had in place for several years, Senators are comportable with microphones, and have learned to function easily and effectively even when, as with the Panama Canal Treaty debates, their debate and discussion is broadcast live. It will be relatively easy for Members to adjust to live radio coverage, even gavel to gavel.

Clearly there is no secrecy in floor debate which could only be uncovered by the introduction of television cameras. Not only is the general public present in the public galleries, but representatives of the press, radio, and television are similarly present in the galleries. More importantly, the arguments for television coverage give the false impression that all legislative activity takes place on the Senate floor.

[1] As ranking member of this committee I, Senator Ford have consistently, opposed the proposal to authorize television coverage of Senate proceedings at this time, as provided for in S. Res. 66. I regret that the necessity of attending a meeting of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources dealing with the administration's recommended legislation to deregulate the natural gas industry prevented my attendance at the Rules Committee meeting at which S. Res. 66 was ordered reported.

We all know how far this is from the truth. But television cameras can easily convey a totally false impression.

When in 1982 this committee reported Senate Resolution 436, the counterpart of Senate Resolution 66 in the 97th Congress, our minority report stated:

> We reject and resent the implication that we are presently opposed to television coverage in the Senate because we prefer to keep such proceedings hidden from the American citizens. This is pure nonsense. In fact, our support for immediate radio coverage can and would insure access to Senate proceedings by all of the public—not just the small percentage who are able to receive cable transmissions.
>
> We are gratified, at least, that the reported resolution includes radio coverage, even though we fear that coupled with television coverage, radio pick-ups will be given far less attention by broadcasters. As to which medium is the better for purposes of "informing" as distinct from "entertaining" the American people on the substance of Senate debates, we believe that moving directly to television coverage in the Senate forfeits the opportunity to develop some data on the question by comparisons with present television coverage in the House of Representatives.
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> The principal—but not sole—reason for our objection to this resolution is its cost. While proponents make low estimates ($3,500,000) and opponents probably err on the high side ($8,500,000), it seems most likely that the capital cost of introducing television in the Senate Chamber will not be less than $5,000,000 and annual operating costs will approximate $600,000.
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> When we are not only struggling to reduce government spending but in the process dangerously reducing many basic social programs affecting millions of Americans, to argue that this expenditure for television should be made now approaches legislative irresponsibility. We believe it can and should wait for better economic conditions. With radio coverage available almost immediately, and at virtually no cost (with audio system improvements deferred, not in excess of $54,000), the postponement of television will not deprive the interested public of full access to the substance of Senate debates."

All that we said then is equally true today, and still reflects our views on this issue.

Although the House of Representatives has brought in television cameras to cover their quite different kind of proceedings and has placed control of the cameras in the hands of House employees, the issue of whether the cameras should be controlled by the private broadcasters themselves is still open to lively debate. In fact, all of the witnesses from that industry favored camera control by the news media rather than by the Government. This question and many others about television coverage remain unanswered. The presence of television cameras will have far reaching implications and many rules and procedures will have to be changed before a transition can be made. There is an

overwhelming consensus that current rules and procedures are at best inefficient and the introduction of television coverage will only compound these problems. A period of radio coverage would give us the time to make needed changes while making our procedures more accessible at the same time.

In their recent report on measures to improve the operation of the Senate, former Senators Pearson and Ribicoff did not support the coverage of Senate proceedings by television on a gavel-to-gavel basis. Indeed, their limited recommendation was for periodic and relatively short broadcasts of debates on major issues confronting the Senate—not necessarily in the context of actual legislative consideration of specific bills. The Pearson-Ribicoff study concluded that the value of television coverage would be the benefit the public would gain from information provided by serious issue discussions by knowledgeable Senators. They testified that gavel-to-gavel coverage would be a serious mistake. The fact is that radio broadcast coverage can provide the same beneficial access to information on issues. The justification and necessity for television are nonexistent. When this lack of need for television is considered in conjunction with the cost and the distraction potential of television coverage the advantage of radio only coverage seems compelling.

Consider also some of the other distinct advantages of radio over television coverage for Senate proceedings. At present the House television broadcasts are carried only by cable television—pay television which reaches only a limited percentage of American homes. Radio reaches virtually all homes and offices, and since it involves only the auditory human functions, radio can be followed even while listeners are engaged in work or other activities. Moreover, the millions of people who, at any given time, are in their automobiles could follow such broadcasts, whereas they certainly could not do so with television broadcasts.

Given the power, influence and appeal of television as an entertainment and information source, especially recently in the political arena, it is understandable why there should be growing interest in extending its operation into the most important and complex government activities. We contend this urge should and must be resisted until we are more certain that its introduction into legislative chambers, into court rooms, into executive branch meetings, and the like, will not prove more harmful than helpful to our democratic processes.

Senate Resolution 66, which, significantly, was not ordered reported favorably, but merely ordered reported, should not be agreed to in its present form. We hope a majority of the Senate Members will join us in a floor effort to limit this important first step in enlarging the Senate's public audience to radio coverage only.

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